

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 090144Z DEC 74  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3072  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 10371

EXDIS

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, AR  
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES

REF: (A) STATE 267952; (B) STATE 269203

1. I MET WITH ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES AND PULIT IN VIGNES' HOTEL SUITE ON DECEMBER 7 FOR MORE THAN AN HOUR. HE WANTED TO DISCUSS THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING.

2. THE CONFERENCE MUST BE A SUCCESS. THE RECIPE FOR A SUCCESS, IN HIS VIEW, HAS TWO INGREDIENTS: THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CUBANS WITHOUT CONTROVERSY OR TEARS, AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A FEW, QUITE MODEST BUT REASONABLY CONCRETE RESULTS.

3. WE SPENT MOST OF OUR TIME ON CUBA. HE REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT, OR ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED, THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING WAS TO HAVE BEEN THE SECOND STAGE OF THE NEW DIALOGUE. HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED IT THAT WAY. THE QUITO MEETING COMPLICATED MATTERS. HE NOTED THAT WHEN HE MET SECRETARY KISSINGER IN ROME HE HAD URGED THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY QTE. A HELPFUL ROLE END QTE. AT QUITO. HE EVIDENTLY FELT HIS PLEA HAD NOT BEEN UNDERSTOOD. I SUGGESTED THAT OUR HANDS-OFF ATTITUDE AT THE QUITO MEETING WAS INDEED HIGHLY CONSTRUCTIVE AND REPRESENTED A DISTINCT ADVANCE IN OUR POLICY TOWARD CUBA.

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4. VIGNES COMMENTED THAT QUITO ILLUSTRATED THE VITAL NECESSITY OF REFORMING THE RIO TREATY, IN HIS VIEW, THE RESULT AT QUITO HAD BEEN QTE. ANTI-DEMOCRATIC END QTE. IT REPRESENTED THE POSITION OF ONLY THREE COUNTRIES. I TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE ECUADOREAN REVISION OF THE RIO TREATY TO PERMITTING SACTIONS TO BE REPEALED BY A MAJORITY VOTE. HE WAS SURPRISED TO HEAR THIS. PULIT CONFIRMED THAT INDEED THE RIO TREATY CHANGE HAD MOVED FORWARD LAST WEEK WITH OUR CONSENT. VIGNES THOUGHT THIS A POSITIVE STEP. BUT WE AGREED, AFTER SOME DISCUSSION THAT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT THE CHANGE COULD BE MADE EFFECTIVE, UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, BEFORE THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING.

5. WE THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION WHETHER CUBA SHOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE BUENOS AIRES MEETINGS, IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES -- THAT IS TO SAY, WITH THE 1964 RESOLUTIONS TECHNICALLY STILL IN EFFECT, WITH A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES (PROBABLY INCLUDING VENEZUELA) HAVING RE-ESTABLISHED RELATIONS AND WITH A CHANGE IN THE VOTING FORMULA IN THE RIO TREATY IN THE OFFING. HE EXPANDED ON THE NOTIONS SET FORTH IN HIS NOVEMBER 25 LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, AS FOLLOWS: HE FEELS THAT THE CUBAN ISSUE COULD BE DEEPLY DIVISIVE TO NEW DIALOGUE DISCUSSIONS AT BUENOS AIRES. IF CUBA IS NOT INVITED, THE CUBAN ISSUE IS CERTAIN TO BE DISCUSSED. HENCE, IN HIS VIEW, IF THE UNITED STATES CONSENTS, CUBA SHOULD BE INVITED, ON THE STRICT UNDERSTANDING THAT NO ASPECT OF THE CUBAN QUESTION WOULD BE INJECTED INTO THE CONVERSATIONS, AND THAT THE AGENDA WILL BE DEFINED TO EXCLUDE CUBAN-RELATED CONTROVERSY. I TOLD HIM THAT, TO MY MIND, THIS REPRESENTED AN INTERESTING AMPLIFICATION OF HIS LETTER. I POINTED OUT, ALONG THE LINES OF OUR PROPOSED DRAFT REPLY (REFTEL A) THAT OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INVITATION TO CUBA WAS RELATED TO THE PROBABLE REACTION OF THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS. WE WOULD NOT WANT THE QUESTION OF AN INVITATION TO CUBA TO EVOLVE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SEEM TO REQUIRE US AND OTHERS TO CHOOSE BETWEEN A MEETING IN WHICH CUBA WOULD PARTICIPATE OR ONE IN WHICH, FOR INSTANCE, CHILE WOULD PARTICIPATE. VIGNES REPLIED THAT IT WAS HIS PURPOSE TO ARRANGE A MEETING IN WHICH ALL WOULD WILLINGLY PARTICIPATE, AND THAT IF WE WERE FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CUBA AND CHILE ARGENTINA WOULD PREFER CHILE.

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6. WE THEN REFERRED TO THE QUESTION OF LACK OF ASSURANCES, AGAIN ALONG THE LINES OF REFTEL A. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONSIDERATION. HE ADMITTED THAT HE WAS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT HE COULD SECURE ENOUGH IN THE WAY OF ASSURANCES FROM CUBA AS TO ITS BEHAVIOR TO SATISFY THE MISGIVINGS OF THOSE WHO HAD VOTED NO AT QUITO. BUT HE WANTED OUR REACTION BEFORE HE EVEN TRIED. I REPLIED THAT, ALTHOUGH

I KNEW THE SECRETARY HAD ALREADY GIVEN GREAT CONSIDERATION TO THE MINISTER'S LETTER OF NOVEMBER 25, I DID NOT KNOW WHAT POSITION WE WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO THE SUGGESTION AS HE NOW HAD ELABORATED IT. I PROMISED THAT WE WOULD HAVE A RESPONSE IN HIS HANDS WITHOUT UNDUE DELAY.

7. VIGNES ADDED A NOTE OF DISAPPOINTMENT AT WHAT HE CHARACTERIZED AS A RIGID ATTITUDE ON OUR PART AS TO TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION QUESTIONS DURING THE RECENT POLICY PLANNING TALKS IN BUENOS AIRES. HE SAID THAT HE HOPED WE COULD IMPROVE OUR POSTURE BEFORE THE MFM.

8. HE ALLOWED HIMSELF TO GRUMBLE ABOUT PINOCHET'S DECISION NOT TO COME TO LIMA. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT IS ONLY ROA, NOT FIDEL, WHO IS ATTENDING FOR CUBA.

COMMENT:

1. THIS CONVERSATION SUPERSEDES THE PROPOSED REPLY FROM THE SECRETARY (REFTEL A). I NOW THINK WE SHOULD HOLD OFF REVISING THAT REPLY UNTIL FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS HERE IN LIMA. VIGNES IS QUITE CONTENT FOR THE MOMENT.

2. ROA HAS ARRIVED. IF THE PRESS HERE IS A FAIR BAROMETER, HIS ARRIVAL STATEMENT WAS MILD ENOUGH. CARVAJAL HAS TOLD US THAT CHILE'S ATTITUDE ON CUBAN PARTICIPATION AT BUENOS AIRES WILL BE AFFECTED BY CUBA'S BEHAVIOR HERE. WE MIGHT EXPECT THAT THE SAME IS TRUE FOR BLANCO. ROA HAS ALREADY SAID HERE THAT CUBA WILL ACCEPT IF INVITED TO THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING.

3. VIGNES HAS SAID THAT HE WANTS OUR RESPONSE BEFORE HE MOVES TOO FAR ON THE INVITATION TO CUBA. BUT I THINK THAT HE AND PULIT WILL MAKE SOME SOUNDINGS AD REFERENDUM NEVERTHELESS, AT LEAST WITH CARVAJAL, BLANCO AND PERHAPS ALSO LIEVANO OF COLOMBIA,  
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THE VENEZUELAN AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS.

4. BRAZIL IS REPRESENTED BY A GENERAL WHOSE CREDENTIALS ARE HIS UTTER IGNORANCE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. SO THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF OUR GETTING A LINE ON THE BRAZILIAN POSITION HERE. SEE SEPTEL.

DEAN

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